197 Chekiang and southern Kiangsu provinces. About 32,000,000 people are speaking this dialect.

D. Hui-chou

Although comparatively small, this dialect group is independent of other groups. There are some 10,000,000 people in southern Anhwei Province speaking it.

E. Min

Speakers of Min can be generally distinguished. Northern Min is spoken by about 8,000,000 people in Fukien Province north of Amoy; southern Min prevails south of Amoy with about 5,000,000 speakers in this region.

III. DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS

A. Northern Mandarin

197 Dialects of Northern Mandarin have in common the following distinguishing features:

194 1. There are two kinds of stop affricative consonants which are not voiced and voiceless as b, d, g, dz, and p, t, k, ts in English, but voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated, commonly expressed in phonetic symbols of the Wade-Giles system of Romanization as p, t, k, ts, and p', t', k', ts' respectively. Roughly speaking, p, t, k sound like English p, t, k, in speak, still, and skill; and p', t', k' sound like English p, t, k in peak, till, and kill. Voiced consonants

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194 such as b, d, g in English do not exist in Northern Mandarin.

2. There is a set of retroflex affricatives and fricatives distinguishable from dental affricatives and fricatives. For example:

Chu (pig) : tsu (to rent)
Ch'eng (city wall): ts'eng (story, layer)
Shan (hill) : san (three)

3. The guttural nasal ng does not occur in in the initial position of a word as it usually does in many other dialect groups.

4. A vowel scheme such as the following exists:

	Front Unrounded	Central Rounded	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i	ɯ		u
Mid	e	ə	ɤ̂	o
Low		a		

With an additional symbol for the apical vowel, the above scheme will suffice to indicate all the vowel sounds of these dialects. Ordinarily, e and ə, or ɤ̂ and o are not distinguishable.

5. Only two final nasals, n and ng are found (except in Shansi Province), and they are distinguishable regardless of the vowel preceding them.

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Lan (indigo)	:	lang (wolf)
Chen (true)	:	cheng (to steam)
Min (people)	:	ming (name)
Sun (grandchild)	:	sung (loose)
Ch'tn (a crowd)	:	ch'iung (poor, impoverished)

6. There are four tones. The pitch of the first tone is high-level; that of the second, high-rising; that of the third, low-dipping; and that of the fourth, high-falling. Graphically, these four tones may be represented as follows: ˥, ˧, ˨˩, and ˥˩, respectively. However, the dialects spoken in Shansi and areas adjacent to it have an additional fifth tone, which is always associated with a glottal stop in a final position. Another characteristic of these dialects is that n and ng rarely occur after the vowels a and e.

7. A few variations from the standard Northern Mandarin are noted in this dialect group as spoken in East China.

a) Tonal changes

In different areas the tonal patterns vary as follows:

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	First Tone	Second Tone	Third Tone	Fourth Tone
Standard Northern Manadarin	High-level	High-rising	Low-dipping	High-falling
Dialects in western Shantung, northern Anhwei and Kiangsu	Mid-rising	High-falling	High-level	Low-falling-rising
Dialects in eastern Shantung	Low-falling	High-falling	Rising	Mid-level

b) Palatal Differentiations

In some scattered areas in this region, Mandarin palatals are divided into dental sibilants followed by i or ü, and gutturals followed by i or ü. In these areas, certain Mandarin homonyms are pronounced with distinguishable variations

as follows:

	Standard Mandarin	East China Variation
wine	chiu	tsiu
nine	chiu	kiou
fun	ch'ü	ts'ü
to go	ch'ü	k'ü
to wash	hsi	si
to like	hsi	hi

In some areas in southern Shantung, the standard Northern words chao (to search for), ch'a (to investigate), and shan (mountain) are pronounced tso, ts'a, and san, respectively.

B. Eastern Mandarin

Although basically similar to Northern Mandarin, Eastern Mandarin has its clearly distinguishable features, of which the major ones are:

1. Lack of differentiation between initials l and n.

Speakers of Eastern Mandarin tend to pronounce these two initials interchangeably without distinguishing between them. To them, such standard Northern Mandarin words as nan (south) and lan (indigo), ni (you) and li (reason), nu (anger) and lu (road), and nü (female) and lü (brigade) are homonymous twins.

2. Absence of final n, and often final ng after the vowels a and e.

For example, kuan (officer) in standard Northern Mandarin is pronounced by the residents of Nanking as kua but with a nasalized a. In this connection, the finals ng and n after the vowel i are usually pronounced ng in Eastern Mandarin, such as ping (guest), which is pronounced as pin in standard Northern Mandarin.

3. Presence of a fifth tone.

In addition to the four tones used in standard Northern Mandarin, Easter Mandarin has a fifth tone -- short high-level -- which is associated with a final glottal stop. This tone comes from the ancient "entering" tone which has merged into other tones in standard Northern Mandarin.

4. Lack of retroflex initials.

The retroflex initials in such words as shan (mountain), ch'ung (worm), and chu (to cook) in standard Northern Mandarin, are pronounced in Eastern Mandarin with a dental sibilant; thus, they become san, ts'ung, and tsu, respectively.

C. Wu

1. In addition to the usual unaspirated and aspirated voiceless stops in standard Northern Mandarin, another set of "voiced" stops are found in the Wu initial system. The voiced stops as initials originally existed in all Chinese dialects, but they gradually disappeared

197 from all other dialects except Wu. In Wu
194 these voiced stops are not fully voiced but are pronounced with voiced aspiration. In the following illustration, the dialect of Soochow is chosen as representative of Wu.

	Mandarin	Wu
to accompany	p'ei	be (e as in "set")
same	t'ung	tung
mad	k'uang	kuang

2. Ancient voiced affricatives and fricatives have been kept partially voiced in Wu. At the same time, certain dialects in this group tend to mix voiced affricatives with fricatives as shown in the following comparison:

	Mandarin	Wu
room	fang	vang
to follow	ts'ung	zung
dam	cha	za

3. Some Mandarin zero-initials, immediately followed by u (pronounced as in "pull") and originated from an ancient labio-dental nasal, are in most dialects of Wu either m vernacularly or v literarily.

	Mandarin	Wu
197 literary	wen	men (or ven)
•194 stocking	wa	ma
ten thousand	wan	man (or van)
tail	wei	mi (or vi)
have not	wu	vu

4. Mandarin j becomes a voiced fricative or a nasal in Wu; thus Mandarin jih (day) becomes zih or nih.

5. Many dialects of the Wu group have in general preserved the ancient guttural nasal initial, with a variety of palatalized n before high front vowels. Northern Mandarin words e (forehead), wai (outside), and i (to doubt) are pronounced as nge, ngai, and ni, respectively, in Wu.

6. In the final system of Wu, many Mandarin diphthongs are simplified into simple vowels; thus Mandarin lai (to come) becomes le (e as in "set"), and Mandarin kuai (unusual) becomes kua in Wu. Many Mandarin finals lose their nasals in Wu; thus Mandarin nan (difficult) becomes ne (e as in "set"), and t'ien (sky) becomes t'ie in Wu.

7. Wu dialects have as many as eight tones. The eight tones may be characterized as fully falling (↘), low rising (↗), low falling-rising (↘↗), low falling (↘), mid rising (↗), falling-rising (↘↗), short high-level (→), short low-rising (↗). Certain dialects in this group have only seven tones as a result of not distinguishing between the rising and falling tones for words with voiced initials.

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194 8. Local variations in Wu are more noticeable than those in the Mandarin group, as the following comparison will show:

	Soochow (in Kiangsu)	Hangchow (in Chekiang)	Wen-chou (in Fukien)	Chin-hua (in Chekiang)
I, me	ngau (a as in "sofa", u as in "pull")	ngo (o as in "sorry")	ng	nga (a as in "ask")
we	ni	ngo man	ng le	ng liang
he	li	t'a	k'i	k'o (o as a in "all", pronounced with an "entering" tone)

D. Hui-chou

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Although Hui-chou dialects are spoken in a relatively small area in East China, they are sufficiently different to constitute almost a separate group. The dialect spoken in An-ch'ing, former capital of Anhwei Province, is perhaps most representative. Its special characteristics are as follows:

1. There is no initial h before u; thus Mandarin hu (tiger) becomes fu in Hui-chou.

2. The ancient initial ng has been preserved in Hui-chou; thus Mandarin i (to doubt) becomes ngi in Hui-chou.

3. Palatals are used in place of many retroflexes; thus Mandarin chu (pig) becomes tsü in Hui-chou.

4. Very few diphthongs are found in Hui-chou; for instance, Mandarin tai (to substitute) becomes ta.

5. Mandarin finals n and ng following the vowel a lose their nasal quality in Hui-chou; thus Mandarin wan (to finish) becomes wao (o as in "sorry"), and Mandarin yang (sheep) becomes io.

6. There are six tones in Hui-chou, one of which is originated from the ancient "entering" tone and is always accompanied by a glottal stop.

F Min

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194 The Min dialect group is usually divided into Northern Min and Southern Min. Northern Min is represented by the dialect of Foochow, while Southern Min is typified by the dialect spoken in Amoy. In general, all Min dialects have the following features:

1. There is no labial fricative sound. For example, Mandarin f is replaced by h, p, or p'. Hence Mandarin fa (law) becomes Foochow huak, Amoy huat, and Swatow huap; Mandarin fan (cooked rice meal) becomes Foochow puong and Amoy pong; and Mandarin fang (fragrant) becomes p'ang for most major Min dialects.

2. Words with dental or retroflex affricative initials in other dialects are replaced by dental stop initials. Thus, Mandarin ch'ih (pond), ch'ou (to extract), and chung (middle) become tie, t'iu, and tŭng, respectively, in Foochow, and ti, t'iu, and tiong in Amoy.

3. Ancient voiced stops and affricatives have lost their voiced quality as has happened to those of the Mandarin dialects. But, unlike Mandarin, they have all become unaspirated instead of being both aspirated and unaspirated as conditioned by tones. Thus, Mandarin p'o (old woman), po (to bind), t'i (topic, title) tan (but), ts'ao (trough), and chin (to exhaust) becomes po, puok, te, tang, tso, and tseing in Foochow, and po, pak, te, tan, tso, and tsin in Amoy.

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194 4. There are generally seven or eight tones, and a very elaborate system of tone sandhi, especially in Northern Min.

Besides the above-mentioned common features of the Min group, Northern Min has the following unique characteristics:

1. Vowels vary according to tones. There are seven tones in Northern Min: high-level, fully falling, mid-level, low-rising, low-level, rising-falling, and short high-rising.

2. There is only one nasal final in Northern Min; thus Northern Min ng takes the place of both ng and n in Mandarin.

3. Northern Min is noted for its system of tone sandhi. Each of its seven tones has three or four different variations, depending upon the tone of the word that follows.

Southern Min, which is spoken in Amoy and in areas south of Amoy, further characterizes itself by the following features:

1. There is a tendency to oralize the nasal initials when they are not immediately followed by nasalized vowels or the nasal ng. Thus, b, l, g and m, n, ng are distributed complementarily in general.

2. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs are popular in daily speech, although usually not recorded in dictionaries dealing only with literary pronunciations.

3. Tone sandhi is very common, but its system is not as elaborate as that of the dialects of Foochow. Each tone has only one sandhi form, regardless of the tone of the word following.

IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the dialects spoken in East China, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that speakers of Northern Mandarin and Eastern Mandarin are generally understandable to one another for all practical purposes. However, speakers of those two groups of dialects may experience great difficulty in trying to understand or make themselves understood by the speakers of Min, Wu, or Hui-chou dialects. It must be noted that the differences of the dialects tend to diminish in the "twilight zones" between the dialectal areas in East China, and residents of these areas usually understand two or more dialects in addition to the one appropriate in their home place.

The existence of two systems of pronunciation in non-Mandarin dialects merits attention. A non-Mandarin dialect speaker is likely to employ a "literary" system of pronunciation when he reads a printed text, but will use a "vernacular" system to pronounce the words in conversation. For example, in Wu the "literary" v initial becomes "vernacular" m. In Foochow the difference between these two